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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 823

April 4, 1952

FOURPENCE

Z-objectors at Tribunal He saw atom-bombed Hiroshima **EX-SAPPER WILL NEVER FORGET**

By MARY WILLIS

"I WAS among the first military personnel to reach Hiroshima after the dropping of the atom bomb," said Leonard Gentry, an ex-sapper, of Willesden, at the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Fulham last Friday.

"I will never forget what I saw. The people had ulceration, decaying bodies and faces full of horror. Never will I give up the right to fight for peace so long as there remains one atom bomb which can cause such devastation and horror," he declared.

A member of the Communist Party, Gentry said that his objections to being recruited for training were political, not pacifist. Pressed by the chairman, Judge Hartreeves, as to whether by "fighting for peace" he meant fighting with weapons, Gentry said that if by fighting one man he could bring peace to the world, he would do so. In that case, said His Honour, he was not eligible for registration as a CO.

Joseph H. Parker, an official of the applicant's trade union, who appeared as a witness, told the Tribunal that he did not think it was in the interests of the country to force unwilling people, with political ideas, into the army, to fight for something they had not the faintest interest in.

Three men in the public gallery made a number of interruptions during the hearing of the case, and at the close they called out, "This is not the democracy you fought for!"

RAMC-men's doubts

Eighteen other Z-reservists were heard at the same sitting. Of particular interest to pacifists who are approaching the age for national service, and may be pressed to accept non-combatant duties in the RAMC, were the cases of two men who did so in the last war, George C. A. Brown, of Catford, and Albert T. Buckley, of Forest Gate. Both said they had been unhappy about the work they had to do. Brown said, "I was not free to help anybody in trouble, but only military personnel, and in the vast majority of cases only those in the Allied cause."

"If a number of English soldiers came in, and some German soldiers, as a member of a military unit I could not say that they were all men, and I had to attend (Continued on page six)

Peace Pledge Union challenges Home Secretary on CD WHERE IS OUR LEAFLET INACCURATE?

The Home Secretary has been asked by the Peace Pledge Union to point out any inaccuracies in their Civil Defence leaflet which was the subject of a question in the House of Commons last week.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU has issued the following statement in reply to the criticisms made in the House.

THE Peace Pledge Union leaflet "Civil Defence—Your Questions Answered," in dealing with the question, "Could Civil Defence do anything if an atomic attack came?" specifically states, "Obviously it could do something...."

The recent Government White Paper on Civil Defence stated that the main objects of Civil Defence are to reduce casualties, to attend the injured and homeless, to fight fires, to keep essential services going and to sustain morale.

The implication, therefore, is that

Welsh warning on foreign policy

Over 200 Montgomeryshire people have signed a letter drawn up by a few pacifists and addressed to their MP, Mr. Clement Davies, and to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden. The letter expresses uneasiness at the trend of events in the Far East, and states that should America launch an all-out attack on China in order to contain Communism, the signatories would strongly oppose any support being given by our Government.

Progress in BECHUANALAND NEEDS SERETSE

By A. Fenner Brockway, MP

ONLY one argument can be advanced in favour of the permanent banishment of Seretse Khama from the chiefdom of the Bamangwato tribe and his exclusion from the territory of Bechuanaland for an indefinite period.

It is the argument that the return of Seretse and his wife Ruth, would outrage white opinions in the South African Union of Southern Rhodesia.

It is held by some that this would lead to South Africa leaving the Commonwealth and to the union of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Hornets' nest for Malan

I don't believe this would happen. Dr. Malan is already sufficiently in trouble in South Africa and will not wish to stir up the hornet's nest among the British settlers which a break from the Commonwealth would cause.

As for Southern Rhodesia, the majority of European settlers there are still British with an intense feeling of loyalty to Britain.

It is more likely that permission for Seretse to return would bring an immediate demand from South Africa that the three Protectorates within and adjoining her territory should be handed over to the Union. That could only be done in the face of the resistance of the entire African population, and one hopes that even a Tory Government would hesitate to do that.

On the other side, the principles of democracy and liberty as well as considerations of practical policy demand that Seretse should be allowed back.

No one denies that the Bamangwato tribe passionately desire Seretse to return as their chief. How can we claim to be democrats when we refuse to recognise the right of a people to choose their own head?

Liberty is outraged by the banishment of anyone from his homeland without even charge or trial. When the Russians do this the very people who are now exiling Seretse become passionately indignant against Communist totalitarianism.

Alternative was impossible

From a practical point of view there can be no hope of progress in Bechuanaland without Seretse's return.

When two years ago Mr. Gordon Walker announced Seretse's five-year banishment,

he put forward the alternative of administration through democratic councils.

It has proved impossible to operate the councils because of the non-co-operation of the tribe whilst Seretse was banned.

The Tories now propose to give up the attempt to introduce democratic rule and to establish a new chief. It is certain that the tribe will decline to recognise any chief who usurps Seretse's place.

The tragedy of all this is much more than personal.

Bechuanaland could be the model of racial equality in South Africa. It is one of the three Protectorates which Britain still controls. If we helped to make these islands in the sea of Malanism an example of race-co-operation, education, economic development and social justice, the effect in the Union would be immense.

That could happen in Bechuanaland if Seretse and Ruth returned, and if we applied the imaginative economic plan already prepared, and accompanied it by aid for education, health and social welfare.

With Seretse as chief, democratic advance could take place.

Labour's opportunity

But now Bechuanaland is doomed to wasted years of frustration and conflict. With such failure, how can South Africa's claim to incorporate the Protectorate be resisted?

The Labour Party has a heavy responsibility. Its Government first exiled Seretse.

Labour now has the opportunity to recover its reputation. Let it say that as soon as it is returned to power Seretse shall go back to his people.

Such a pledge will not only give Bechuanaland hope—it will regain the goodwill of the 60 million people in the British colonies of Africa.

Human Rights in Africa BIG LONDON RALLY ON SUNDAY

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, who last week published "A Bill to Secure Full and Equal Human Rights for All Peoples in the UK, British Colonies and Protectorates, Irrespective of Race, Colour, Religion or Sex," will be speaking with George Padmore, grandson of an African slave, in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, April 5.

The international meeting which opens in the Square at 2.15 p.m. and is in support of the principle of human rights for the people of Africa, will coincide with the start of a campaign in South Africa against the policy of race discrimination.

Banners will form the background of the Trafalgar Square meeting and a series of posters bearing extracts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be displayed.

Here to see Oliver Lyttleton

Other speakers include Dr. Hastings K. Banda who is visiting this country as representative of the Nyasaland Africa Congress to meet Oliver Lyttleton and discuss the question of African Federation; John Hoyland, a Quaker, Principal of Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham;

David Kitson, born in Cape Town, member of the S. African Students Union; J. E. Appiah, of the Gold Coast, President of the West African Students Union; Dr. Olumebi Bassir, West African specialist in nutrition; and Mbiyu Koinange, a member of the Kenya African Union.

The World Citizens' Council for Human Rights, which has organised this meeting, accepts the Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations as the standard against which to measure any proposals or action affecting the peoples of Africa.

It believes that the people of Britain must fully realise that the problems of conflicting interests in Africa can never be solved unless the rights of the individual

GERM WARFARE

Research workers at Porton get verbal assurances

By OUR SCIENCE CORRESPONDENT
IT is a humiliating reflection, for the United Nations, that the main reasons for doubting the accuracy of the Chinese and North Korean charge that bacterial warfare has been used in Korea are technical, not ethical.

The United Nations have a record of indiscriminate warfare by other means which makes nothing impossible. But the methods of attack so far described by Chinese sources and by Moscow radio bear no resemblance to the techniques of bacterial war which are known to be being developed in the West, and the details are wildly improbable.

The main charges so far concern the dropping, in winter conditions and at temperatures below freezing, of "flies, mosquitos and spiders" infected with plague and other diseases. Spiders (unless mites are intended) are not vectors of any known human disease.

The survival time of most flies and mosquitos which are known vectors would be limited to minutes under the conditions described.

The only flea which, for ecological and entomological reasons, might conceivably be used to carry bubonic plague is incapable of survival outside tropical conditions. The only probable insect vector for mass dropping, judging from published reports, is the typhus-infected louse.

West's indignation unjustified

In view of the frequency with which rumour has, in the past, attributed epidemics to enemy action, and in view of the known record of all belligerents over the propaganda use of such rumours, these reports should be treated with great reserve.

On the other hand, the indignation of the West is unjustified.

The United States Government has publicly announced that it is developing bacteriological and biological weapons, and, in view of what has already occurred

(Continued on page six)



CANADA LEE

Distinguished American stage and screen actor, who plays the starring role of Stephen Kumalo in the film "Cry The Beloved Country." He is taking part in a New York demonstration on Sunday in support of the African Civil Disobedience Campaign.

ning a 3-day fast as an expression of unity with the South Africans. Meetings of sympathy will be sending cables of encouragement and money to S. Africa.

(Continued on page six)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

4th April 1952

FRANCE SUFFERS AGGRESSION

If we were to learn that Russia was presenting some proposals for the control of affairs in one of the satellite countries behind the iron curtain (let us say, Rumania); that as a preliminary to their discussion with Rumanian representatives the dismissal of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet had been demanded; and that, on this being refused, the Prime Minister and three of his ministerial colleagues had been arrested by the Russian authorities: what a shout of indignation there would be in the British and American Press.

Fully justified indignation it would be, of course; it is a monstrous thing for an imperialist power to seek to impose its will in this way on a smaller people.

When we learned that these arrests had been justified on the ground that they had been made necessary by the "aggressive attitude" of those arrested, and that their aggressive disposition was manifested by the fact that they had sent two of their fellow-ministers to raise the question of their treatment with the United Nations, how righteously indignant we should feel at the Russian hypocrisy and "double-talk."



A succession of happenings like these has just occurred, only Russia has nothing to do with them. It is the Tunisian Government that has sent two of its members to appeal to the United Nations. It is the French Government that has resorted to the methods described, through the French Resident-General in Tunisia, M. de Hautecloue.

Already, as Peace News reported last week, 10,000 Tunisians were being held under arrest by the French authorities, mostly without charge; now the French C-in-C, General Garbey, has called for the stricter enforcement of a state of siege that has, in fact, never been lifted since it was proclaimed in 1939.

M. de Hautecloue complains that the arrested Prime Minister, M. Chenik, in sending his ministers to make representation to the United Nations, had acted in direct conflict with the policy of co-operation which had been followed for 70 years.



It is as well that we in the West should take note of the terminology that M. de Hautecloue uses. It may help to make us a little more understanding when people on the other side of the world are able to do things with a sense of self-righteousness that we are able to see are monstrous invasions of human rights.

The policy of co-operation which has been followed for 70 years, and which M. de Hautecloue complains that the arrested Tunisian Prime Minister had departed from, began in May 1881, when with his palace surrounded by French troops the Bey of Tunisia signed a treaty which made his country a French protectorate.

There are 3,500,000 inhabitants of Tunisia. Of those 250,000 are Europeans, including 140,000 French. The form the co-operation takes is to arrange that all the dominant controls are operated in the interest of the small minority of white people.

The French Government are ready to make concessions, but they are not ready to permit the Tunisians to manage their own affairs as demanded by the nationalist forces organised in the Neo-Destour Party.

There is pressure from the French settlers upon the Government not to concede any of the substance of self-Government, and this pressure is reinforced by the fears of the French settlers in Morocco and Algeria, whose views on this matter have also to be taken into account by the French Government.

Since the arrests were made the Bey of Tunisia has capitulated to the French and has agreed to the appointment of a new Government under Prime Minister M. Salaheddine Baccouche, who is acceptable to the French as a statesman who will co-operate with their New Order. It should hardly surprise us if the Tunisians regard him as a "Quisling."



The Pakistan representatives are likely to raise the question with the United Nations.

There is very little hope that the matter will be pronounced upon on issues of principle, however. All such issues are more and more coming to be dealt with in terms of the two power blocs.

The Russians will doubtless condemn what has happened and they will be right, but by so doing they will condemn by implication many of their own actions.

The Western nations will line up in loyal support of their ally France and in so doing will invalidate their criticisms of what goes on behind the iron curtain.

Dodging the issue

THAT sixteen days were needed for consultation by Britain, France and America before they replied to the recent Soviet proposals on German unity indicates that they hold different points of view, as also does the evasiveness of their answer.

The French would like to dismiss out of hand any idea of an armed and independent Germany, seeing the German danger as even greater than the Russian.

The USA would like to stop any proposals which endanger their plan to integrate a rearmed Western Germany into the European Defence Community.

We hope that Britain has been more ready to see the disadvantages of the present situation and the advantages of a united unarmed Germany.

All German elections

The result has been to seek to discourage the Soviet Union from going further without actually rejecting its proposals.

No answer is given to the specific proposal for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers, and the reply concentrates on the difficulties. Amongst them the question of all-German elections, held under reasonable conditions of secrecy and freedom, is obviously foremost, but this is a question which the Foreign Ministers should discuss, as Russia suggests.

The Western Powers are at fault in insisting that this is a matter for supervision by the United Nations. Such elections should be held under conditions approved by those who, as the occupying powers, are the responsible authority.

The Oder-Niess line

IN regard to the Eastern frontiers of Germany, the Potsdam Agreement states that "The three heads of governments (i.e., Stalin, Truman, and Attlee) reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the Western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement."

In the meantime it was agreed that pending the final determination of this frontier the former German territories east of the Oder-Niess line should be "under the administration of the Polish state and for such purposes should not be considered as part of the Soviet Zone of occupation."

It may well be that to allow Poland to administer the area was to create a situation in which after a lapse of years it would be extremely difficult if not impossible, to revise the frontier again, but the USSR is in error in asserting that the matter was settled once and for all.

By supporting the idea of a rearmed Western Germany, the Western Powers are encouraging those Germans who would like to regain the lost provinces by war if necessary. Whatever the ultimate solution may be, war cannot provide it.

The answer must form part of the peace treaty, and the essential factor in the whole situation is the establishment of a united German government. But that is precisely what the Western democracies seem anxious to avoid.

Soviet somersault

The change of the Soviet attitude to German rearmament, though it is a complete political somersault, has placed the Western Powers in a dilemma from which they have not escaped by their claim that while the rearmament of Western Germany (and by implications of Eastern Germany too, since this is an obvious corollary) is step in the right direction, the rearmament of a united Germany would be a backward step and "might jeopardise the emergence in Europe of a new era in which international relations would be based on co-operation and not on rivalry and mistrust."

Nothing makes such an era so impossible, nothing increases rivalry and distrust so effectively as the policy to rearm Western Germany at the cost of German unity. That, we maintain, remains the issue.

Partners in peacemaking

As to the relations of a united Germany with other countries, the reply begs the question when with an eye on NATO it claims that Germany must be free to enter into agreements compatible with the principles and purposes of UN, since the Russians have always insisted with ample justification that the Atlantic Treaty is not compatible with the letter and spirit of the Charter.

The underlying fact is that America is unwilling to abandon the plan of Western defence which it is blindly pursuing, regardless of the fact that this policy is not only ruining France and Britain, but threatening the whole world with disaster.

The best guarantee of peace in Europe would be a large neutral block which would become possible if as one result of a peace treaty, there could be a united but permanently disarmed Germany from which the occupying powers had withdrawn.

The immediate need is for the Foreign Ministers to meet in a new attempt to reach agreement about the conditions for the election of an all-German government and for that government, when elected, to be a partner with Britain, France, America and

BEHIND THE NEWS

Russia in drawing up a peace treaty which would be a real peace treaty, not only signifying the end of a disastrous war, but so dealing with the possible causes of future war as to lay the foundations for lasting peace.

Dulles to speak out

JOHN FOSTER DULLES has resigned from his post as Adviser to the State Department.

He desires to be free to attack the Administration's foreign policy and to exercise an influence in the shaping of Republican Party policy in international affairs.

It is somewhat difficult to perceive why Mr. Dulles has felt it necessary to resign to do this, for the policy he wishes to advocate seems to be that with which he has given us very good reason to become familiar.

According to the New York Herald Tribune "He is an advocate of the ultimatum policy toward Russia—of warning the Kremlin that if it starts any more Korea-type wars it will face a conflict with the United States."

It is to be observed that it is a United States ultimatum and a United States war that Mr. Dulles contemplates. The United Nations are not to have any say in the matter, although they will no doubt be expected to "tag along."

What will the Bantu say?

M. JUSTICE BLACKWELL, of the Supreme Court of South Africa, is lecturing in the United States.

His comments do much to reveal the attitude of mind which is likely to make a racial explosion in Africa inevitable.

According to The Times Justice Blackwell said:

"Most of us in South Africa view with some misgivings the British experiment aimed at teaching the Negroes of West Africa to govern themselves. What will the Bantu of South Africa say and do if the West Africa experiment turns out a success? Would they be content with the meagre and almost shadowy representation that they have in the House of Assembly, representation which the governing political party has frequently declared its policy to abolish?"

He went on to say that he had serious doubts how the West African experiment would turn out; but it is to be noted that it is its success and not its failure that is feared.

In a Press interview Justice Blackwell remarked that the sentiment of every European in South Africa was against Seretse Khama's marriage with a European woman, and he believed that this was the view of the majority of non-Europeans.

He remarked, however, that Seretse Khama's tribesmen took "immense pride" in his marriage, and "are clamorously insistent" that he shall return to the Chiefship.

It is presumably the majority of Africans, therefore, who are not immediately concerned with the Bamangwato Chieftainship who disapprove. However, it is the white population that is most volatile in its disapproval and it is reported that had Seretse been allowed to return as Chief, the Malan Government, probably with the support of the Premier of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, would have taken strong action.

The raw materials shortage

THE application of the Colombo Plan is held up through the shortage of raw materials and the unavailability of machinery to assist in the development of agriculture and industry.

The materials and machines are not available because of the prior demands of all the various armaments programmes, particularly that of America. Action upon President Truman's "Point 4" is similarly hindered.

These are not, however, the only undertakings that have suffered for this reason.

Last year the United Nations placed orders for medals and ribbons for the soldiers engaged in Korea. They ordered 1,170,000 medals at 32 cents (2s. 4d.) each, 2,170,000 ribbons at 2 cents (1d.) each, and 217,350 yards of ribbon at 14 cents (1s.) per yard. The sum of 450,000 dollars was voted by the General Assembly for these purposes on Nov. 30, 1951.

Through the lack of raw materials the manufacturers have only been able to deliver medals and ribbons to the value of 122,500 dollars. It has therefore been necessary to reduce by 327,500 dollars the amount voted under the heading of "Enquiries, research and diverse activities."

Above suspicion!

PETERBOROUGH" of the Daily Telegraph reports that the Duke of Edinburgh has recently visited Harwell since he is interested in "scientific development," attended two debates in the House of Commons, and dined, at Mr. Churchill's invitation, with Defence chiefs at Downing Street.

"In all this," says Peterborough, "he holds an advantage over the last Consort. Prince Albert's earliest excursions in public affairs—his main interest was the fine arts—aroused suspicion and in some quarters opposition." But, declares Peterborough, "the Duke's will be cordially approved."

If the doings of Royalty are any criterion of public feeling it would be interesting to know what kind of people were suspicious of Prince Albert's interest in the arts, and who it is that will "cordially approve" of Prince Phillip's interest in atomic weapon research and the plans for so-called "defence" against Russia's research in the same direction.

Perhaps it would surprise both Peterborough and the Duke of Edinburgh to know that there are still some people who would prefer the "fine arts" to the finish of the human race!

Internationalism in the Oxford Union

THAT famous debating society, the Oxford Union, is usually regarded as a peculiarly English institution, but quite frequently its election of officers shows a refreshing freedom from insularity.

The present Librarian, for example, is Mr. Oleg Kerensky, grandson of the Kerensky of Russian revolutionary fame, and the President-elect is Mr. Howard Shuman of New College, the third American to attain that office.

Even more remarkable is the choice of Mr. Raghavan Iyer, of Magdalen College, as the Treasurer-elect. Mr. Iyer, the Indian Rhodes Scholar of his year, who comes from Bombay, is a keen Theosophist and a follower of Gandhi. One of his closest friends is Madam Sophia Wadia, editor of The Aryan Path and founder of the Indian PEN, who was generally agreed to be the best of the many Chairmen at the World Pacifist Meeting two years ago.

Reversed arms

THE reason why soldiers stand with arms reversed on the occasion of military funerals was recently explained to its readers by the Evening Standard.

"This position, with the muzzle resting on the ground is symbolic acknowledgement of the shame of killing and a sign of reverence in the face of death."

More practical means of acknowledging the shame of killing by members of the armed forces usually lead to a court martial. The Evening Standard could have gone on to point out that those who have come to accept the full moral implications of that symbol have the right to appear before a conscientious objector's tribunal, which can recommend discharge from the forces as a CO.

"MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL"

THE film of "Murder in the Cathedral" at the Academy Cinema is not only far above the standards of the average commercial cinema-product. It is a dramatic presentation of the ancient truths of Christian peace in a new form.

Such other films as have been made with the theme of peace as their centre, notably "All Quiet on the Western Front," have been no more than anthologies of horror mixed with the resentful despair of humanism. "Murder in the Cathedral" is by contrast a shewing-forth of the tremendous possibilities of religion in dealing with sin and oppression.

It does not matter that the problem that faced Becket was not one of war. What stands out, is the amazing victory that the saints have achieved by the rejection of violence and its replacement by dynamic spirituality.

Gandhi and St. Thomas à Becket are separated by centuries: but their moral power springs from the same mighty source.

No-one now remembers that particular King Henry by whose hasty remark the saint met death, any more than the man in the street can tell you who was the last Viceroy but one in India. Everyone is conscious, however, that personalities like these victims of the so-called practical men have overthrown something in the world by their deaths.

The movement of the drama is slow on the screen but only those who are hardened by blood and noise in the cinema will dislike the poetry and dignity of this production. The performance of Father Groser as the saint is most memorable. His personality itself flows out of the screen into the beholder's heart.

Here is a film which every pacifist should see.

H.R.

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PUBLIC MEETINGS DRAW LARGE CROWDS

REARMAMENT OR THE WELFARE STATE?

"You can't have both"—Dr. Soper

THE Peace Pledge Union's big London meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, on March 21 under the title: "Britain, Bridge or Battlefield?", partly reported in Peace News last week, has brought a steady flow of enquiries and new members to the movement.

The Chairman, Sybil Morrison, told the meeting that the pacifist case was that it was not true that you had always to choose between two evils. It might be very difficult indeed to choose good, instead of one of two evils, but she believed the world was waiting for the challenge of those who would be brave enough to choose good.

The audience gave a warm welcome to the first speaker, one of Holland's leading pacifists, Dr. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz.

Dr. Hugenholtz compared the tension caused by the armaments race with the increasing tension of atmospheric electricity in nature, which ultimately found its discharge in the destructive flash of lightning.

Even a child could tell you that armaments promoted mutual suspicion, fear and hatred, and finally led to war—and thousands of children in Korea, the victims of war, accused us Christians who were maintaining our cruel military system of defence.

No more fields of honour

Underlying all our armaments, said Dr. Hugenholtz, was the belief in violence which we had inherited from our pre-Christian ancestors. We must recognise that the unlimited violence which mocked at all morality and all Christian mercy was absolutely incompatible with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The word "battlefield" belonged to a romantic past, to the times before 1914 when wars were nearly always fought in the open field. Since the invention of the aeroplane, the character of war had totally changed, and also our romantic conception of the battlefield as the "field of honour."

"Has the idea of honour changed," asked Dr. Hugenholtz, "or can it be regarded as honourable to bomb defenceless people? Is there any chivalry in mass murder, and destroying factories, schools, churches, hospitals and cultural treasures? Thoughtless people call this courage and glory, theologians call it a Christian duty, but insiders like MacArthur call it a 'dirty job'."

"Because the old policy of the balance of power did not prove to be safe," the speaker went on, "a new theory is being developed. By doubling their forces, the allies of the Atlantic Pact believe that they will be able to prevent aggression from Russia."

"We cannot believe that such a policy, even though they may double their armaments in comparison with Russia's, will give any guarantee of peace. What if Russia, with the enormous material riches of its soil and manpower, also doubles its forces?"

What no diplomat can guarantee

"No diplomat or government can guarantee that force, or even doubled force, will assure the peace of the world today. They cannot guarantee this in face of the war that is already creeping in our direction from Korea to Viet-nam, the shoulder-war in Malaya, and the danger-spots in other parts of Asia and Africa."

"The end will be the worst of all: the defeat of our Christian way of life, because

WERE YOU THERE?

OR rather, were you one of those who was not at the recent Central Hall Meeting about which you read in last week's Peace News and two of the speeches which are reported in this issue?

Though there were over 1,000 present, there must have been over 35,000 readers of Peace News who were not there (I am presuming that each copy of PN is read by at least three people. You do pass your copy on to someone else, don't you?). The 1,000 people present gave £115 in the collection, for which we at PPU Headquarters are very grateful.

It covered the cost of the meeting, but left nothing over to help towards spreading the pacifist message still further.

If we could have had all of you at the meeting, I am sure that you would not have let the collection go by without putting in something. If you had given the average amount, it would have been 2s. 6d.

Do you think it worthwhile to run big meetings? To print and distribute leaflets? Worthwhile to spread pacifism far and wide by every means possible?

Would you have liked to be at the meeting? If so, what about your share of the collection? Though you were not there, will you please help and take the trouble to send us that 2s. 6d., which I am sure you would have given if you had been there? Please don't let the collection plate go by.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Total received to date: £102. Amount received since March 14: £31, which is still below the average we need each week if we are to reach our aim of £1,000 for 1952.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Who is the enemy?

"All the world longs for peace"—PAUL CADBURY

OVER 500 people—many of them non-pacifists, and open opponents of the pacifist point of view—were present at a big meeting organised by the Society of Friends (Quakers), at Bury, Lancs, last week.

The Rev. Eric Brampton, Congregational Minister of Oldham, who was in the Chair, referred to Gibbon, the 18th century historian, who gave as one of the reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire "the building of gigantic armaments when the real enemy was within: the decadence of the people."

Mr. Paul Cadbury, a member of the recent Quaker Mission to Russia and a recent visitor to the USA, stated that "We are living in an extraordinary age. Men and women the world over long for Peace more than anything else, and on the other hand the countries of the world are arming and re-arming."

"As human beings we seem to have lost the ability to live together in Peace without the recurring fear of war, and we today are conscious that the condition of the world is serious."

The Russian view

"May I say at once that I am not one of those people who believe that war is inevitable, or even likely. We should be indeed foolish if we did not recognise that the present tensions in the world, if they go on increasing re-arming, must inevitably lead to war."

Professor Schermerhorn, the first Dutch Prime Minister after the war, had accused the group of playing into the hands of Russia, but they believed that rearmament, especially the rearmament of Germany, was working a thousand times more strongly in that direction.

"If you want to build a bridge, you have to find the other bridgehead," said Dr. Hugenholtz. He believed that such a bridgehead existed in the thousands of Christian believers in Soviet Russia. It was the task of the churches to fulfil the last prayer of Christ, "that they may be one"; to pull down the iron curtain and to try the bridge of Jesus Christ between East and West.

We must make it clear to the Russian people that the majority of the Western people wanted to live in peace with their Russian brothers, but that fear and suspicion had driven them to rearmament, as it had driven the Russians on their side.

Finally, he believed that the churches, together with the Russian churches, might find a way to bring the case for total disarmament before their governments and the United Nations.

"The Church of today is facing the call of God to preach His Gospel of reconciliation and salvation in a realistic and practical way of social justice and international co-operation. May the leaders of the churches, as well as the church-people, be conscious of their great responsibility."

USA & USSR doing the wrong thing

"Seven years ago at San Francisco, America came fairly and squarely on the international stage for the first time, and ever since then the rulers of Russia and the West seem to have said and done the wrong thing, when a generous word or action would have changed the situation."

Mr. Cadbury referred to his recent visit to America and said that "with the exception of the Civil War, and the last war, this war in Korea is their longest. The numbers of casualties are mounting. They do not see a way out."

"Wherever I have addressed meetings, they are just as earnest in their desire for peace as we and the Russians are."

"I believe we must be patient, our patience is going to be tried, but we have to work hard for stepping stones. When you cannot jump the river, look for stepping stones."

"If we are to succeed in getting better understanding and getting temperature down, we must succeed in one major negotiation with Russia—fear of arming Western Germany. Russia will go in

ST. MARTIN'S REVIEW

ONE of Dick Sheppard's great achievements was the foundation in 1920 of St. Martin's Review. Some of England's best authors became contributors, and occasional special issues sold 30,000 copies.

With great courage at a time when many magazines are closing down, the present Vicar has decided to reinvigorate this religious and cultural monthly, always so much more than a parish magazine.

A new and gayer cover has been designed, and one or two writers, including Vera Brittain, invited to serve on the Review Committee. So far, although the price has been raised from 6d. to 1s., most subscribers have remained faithful, and last month's accounts showed a small profit.

This month, a special Easter issue will be based on the subject of Resurrection. Eminent specialists will diagnose the signs of resurrection in politics, in music and in moral standards. Friends of Dick Sheppard and many others will want to support this brave experiment.

Parliament hears the case against rearmament

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE ATOM BOMB

Speeches on the Army, Navy and Air Estimates

By Emrys Hughes, MP

From PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, N.4

6d. POST 1d.

long way to prevent it. We are very fearful about their arming Eastern Germany. If there is an armed Western and Eastern bloc there will be a place where future wars will start.

"I believe there you have the makings of a first class bit of diplomatic horse trading. All parties could have something they wanted—an unarmed neutral Germany between East and West."

The Duke of Bedford gave a world survey and referred to the plight of our own country in the event of attack.

To be allowing ourselves to be used as an American Air Base is to be asking for an attack upon ourselves, even before there has been a declaration of war.

To support a fight for strategically indefensible positions is simply preparing for suicide.

The Meeting concluded with an impressive silence, in Quaker fashion.

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Parliament hears the case against rearmament

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE ATOM BOMB

Speeches on the Army, Navy and Air Estimates

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From PEACE NEWS

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Helping world's unemployed LABOUR REVIEWING POLICY

THE British Labour Party has pledged itself to the World Plan for Mutual Aid, declares Michael Young in the new Labour Party Discussion pamphlet "Fifty Million Unemployed."

"We are committed for economic and political reasons, and especially are we committed because gross inequality is as morally indefensible between countries as it is in any one country."

Many of the people of Asia and Africa suffer from a kind of poverty which makes British austerity seem like a Paradise of plenty. In India many people have only rice to eat, not much rice for dinner, and not much rice for tea, seven days a week, the year round. While waiting for the harvest, the weaker members of the family may die from starvation or disease."

Fifty million people are unemployed in India because the shortage of water limits the growing season, and outside the season there is no work to do. One great task is to put the unemployed peasants to work, growing the food they desperately need.

Michael Young makes the rough estimate that because of the difficulties of making work available outside the limited agricultural working seasons unemployment among the agricultural populations of Asia cannot be under less than 100 million a year.

The rich who feel poor

Britain can help to supply the equipment needed in the building of dams to store the monsoon rains, and hydro-electric stations. The more the West can relieve India of the necessity to pay for imported equipment and services by its own exports the more food will be available inside India.

The outstanding need is for new leadership in the villages. The landlords have lost the confidence of the peasants. Land reform will release constructive energy for growing more food.

As its difficulties are overcome, India has the chance to build a new kind of society dedicated to the simple and dignified life which Gandhi taught. It is up to India to abolish the terrible poverty of her villages and towns without landing herself in the new poverty of the West, the poverty of rich people who feel poor.

It is hoped to be able to include in a future issue of Peace News a careful examination of the policy that is advocated in this pamphlet. It should be noted however that Mr. Young does not discuss the financial aspect of the kind of assistance advocated in the pamphlet, and it is rather difficult to see how the Labour Party, without a radical change in its attitude to armaments expenditure can decently include such a policy, as is intended, in its programme for the next General Election.

"Fifty Million Unemployed" is published by the Labour Party and obtainable from the Labour Party Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Prices, post free: 1 copy 8d., 6 copies 2s. 9d., 12 copies 5s.

Peace Pledge Union ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The AGM will be held at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road (near Victoria Station), on Saturday, April 26 and Sunday, April 27.

Saturday, April 26

2 p.m. - 6.15 p.m.
Reports, Statements of Accounts,
Estimates for 1952-3, etc.

6.30 p.m. - 8.30 p.m.

Social Gathering in the Alliance Hall

Sunday, April 27

10 a.m.

Fellowship in Worship

10.30 a.m. - 12.15 p.m.

"The Approach to Young People"

Discussion to be opened by

JOHN KAY

of Bootham School, York.

2 p.m. - 3.30 p.m.

"Some Fundamentals of Pacifism"

R. H. WARD

will discuss "How many pacifists do you know?"

3.30 p.m. - 4 p.m.

Emergency Resolutions and Address by the National Chairman:

SYBIL MORRISON

The AGM is open to MEMBERS OF THE PPU ONLY. Admission is by ticket, which may be obtained from the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Applications must be accompanied by 1s. for each ticket for the main sessions and 2s. 6d. for the Social Gathering (to include refreshments and a display of magic!).

Consultations by appointment

TOM KEELL WOLFE
Registered Naturopath

Graduate of Edinburgh School of Natural Therapeutics
21 Promenade, Cheltenham, Glos.

Pacifist from US speaks at Sheffield

AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT "SOLD" ON WAR

America's biggest industry today was militarism, said Mr. John Swomley, Associate Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, in Sheffield recently.

He was giving "An American view of the East-West conflict," at a meeting organised by the local branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The chairman was the Rev. Cyril H. Grant.

Mr. Swomley said the Pentagon—Washington military headquarters—spent more money in a year than any affiliated group of corporations.

Industrialists looked to the Government and especially to the military for economic support. A great many retired generals had suddenly become vice-presidents of corporations, because they knew how to get military money.

"So there is a tie-up between industry and the military, but in the U.S. the military are much more in the saddle than the capitalists," said Mr. Swomley.

The trend of giving more and more influence to the military was one of the worst aspects of American life today. It had even penetrated to the Universities as had the conformity resulting from Government campaigns to investigate people for various "Un-American" activities.

There was less original thinking and there was a sense in which people were afraid to sponsor anti-war meetings for fear of being thought Communists.

The United States was suffering from the worst taxation in its history and the result was the American people had to be scared, all the time, by newspaper reports of Russian military moves and by Civil Defence on a scale unknown during the war.

"We are being psychologically conditioned in terms of fear," said Mr. Swomley.

Not yet "sold" on war

The optimistic side of the situation was that the American people were not at all happy about it themselves.

The reason the United States had not done more about making war was that the American people were still not "sold" on the whole process of war.

Over simplification of the international situation was the curse of American life, said Mr. Swomley.

"It is far too complex for over simplification," he added, "I personally believe we should be in the same situation today if Winston Churchill had been shot in the Boer War, if Joseph Stalin had gone through with his plans to become a Russian orthodox priest and if Harry Truman had remained in the haberdashery business."

The world had committed Imperialist sins so long that it had to pay for them.

It was inconceivable that Britain, France, Holland, and the United States should not expect to reap the ill effects of the Imperialism from which they had profited so long.

It was inconceivable that the U.S. could fail to pay for its superior economic position, with half the world's wealth and one-tenth the world's population. She would have to pay for the sin of over-abundance while other people were starving.

The Americans wanted things to stay as they were while the Russians wanted to stir them up.

Although they appeared to be in conflict both policies were the same; each was materialistic, the Americans offering dollars and the Russians membership of the Communist Party.

As between the two it was obvious that people interested in revolution would accept the offer of the group which suggested change, regardless of whether it was exactly what they wanted. That was largely the history of backward peoples accepting Communist aid.

"It seems to me we have to blow the lid off and get the revolution accomplished, but we have to do it non-violently. It seems to me a religious approach should be one of repentance," said Mr. Swomley.

"If I want to change the world I must

Call-up accelerated

The call-up of conscripts is being accelerated by means of an extra registration this year, making five in all. Young men born between April 1 and June 30, 1934, must now register on Saturday, April 5, instead of on May 3, as previously announced. The following registration will be on June 7, for those born between July 1 and September 30, 1934.

Any young man who intends to register as a conscientious objector is invited to seek the help of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

start at the point where I have control; myself, my community, church and nation."

America must not expect the world to be saved in Moscow or London. She must give and with no strings attached, so as to lift the general level of life. She would have to repent at a good many other political points and at the point of respect for human life.

If some great nation would repent and disarm it would become the group symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the people of the world.

"I don't think even a military dictatorship could just walk in and deal with that nation," said Mr. Swomley, "because if it did it would definitely be known as the nation bearing the worst military threat to the world and which would not let another nation try to live a higher economic life."

Among those supporting the Conference are the Rev. A. D. Belden, J. Theodore Harris, Professor E. H. S. Burhop and Mr. D. N. Fritt, QC.



JOHN SWOMLEY

Breach of the Children's Charter

THE Christian Action Fellowship has circulated a letter protesting against children being put into uniform and given military training in boy battalions, "thus following in the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini whom we derided for doing the same thing."

The letter goes on to remark that the practice infringes the Children's Charter, 1924, which says that "every child should be given the means necessary for its normal development, irrespective of race, nationality or creed, and must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents are to be devoted to the service of its fellow men."

To back Soviet proposals

THE British Peace Committee is arranging a Conference to be held in St. Pancras Town Hall on Sunday, May 18. The Committee say that a new opportunity for negotiation has presented itself in the latest proposals of the Soviet Government from a German Peace Treaty.

Among those supporting the Conference are the Rev. A. D. Belden, J. Theodore Harris, Professor E. H. S. Burhop and Mr. D. N. Fritt, QC.

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SUNDAY

Scottish COs refused to do war work in prison BUT TRIBUNAL REJECTS APPEALS

ALL the five men who appeared before the Scottish Appellate Tribunal on March 24 had their appeals dismissed, including two men who are serving 6-month prison sentences for refusing to undertake the non-combatant service in the forces to which they had been directed by previous tribunals.

The two prisoners were John Munro and Douglas Whitefield, both of Glasgow.

Whitefield told the Tribunal that while in prison he had been asked to do work of a military nature (the making of camouflage nets), and had refused because it was against his conscience.

He believed that to serve in the forces in either a combatant or non-combatant capacity would be aiding and abetting war.

Two appellants, Thomas S. Stewart and Hugh Macpherson, also of Glasgow, were asked what they would do if they were confronted by a fanatic who intended to wreck a train. Both said that they would try to restrain him, but not use sufficient force to kill.

Stewart said he was a Jehovah's Witness. He had made a Covenant to serve God, and looked to Him to put the world in better order.

Macpherson told the Tribunal that he believed in trying to reason with an aggressor nation. He did not believe that anyone had the right to inflict the suffering of the last war on people.

John E. Mills, a Christadelphian, of Dundee, told the Tribunal that he had renounced his rights as a citizen.

When asked what he would do if he saw somebody using criminal violence against a woman, he said he would try to protect her, but would not use violence. The Christian attitude would be to convert.

Fleming, a painter, said his objection was based on religious grounds, but he was not associated with any religious organisation, though he had attended Friends meetings.

Asked if he agreed that there would be a great deal of destruction and bloodshed if an enemy invaded this country and were not resisted, he replied, "There would be very much more destruction and bloodshed if violence were resisted by violence than if non-violent methods were used."

London Tribunal

(Continued from page four)

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MEDIES

I,500 YOUNG GERMANS RALLY AGAINST MILITARY SERVICE

ON March 2 a meeting of Western Germany's younger generation was held near Darmstadt, when more than 1,500 young men and women from all over Western Germany took part.

Young people had come from factories, mines, workshops, offices, universities, schools and farms to voice their conscientious objection to military service, and they found themselves united in a great fellowship.

The meeting made it quite clear that German youth are no longer willing to acquiesce in decisions in which they have no part, but the consequences of which concern them so closely. They wish to take their share in political developments.

The meeting had been called by Pastor Herbert Mochalski, a close collaborator of Dr. Niemoeller, and Dr. Nikolaus Koch, the author of a well-known book on non-violent action in Germany.

The Ministry of the Interior of Hessen attempted to ban the meeting as being a Communist gathering, but was later obliged to withdraw the ban.

Pastor Mochalski said that German youth had shown itself willing to make sacrifices in the interests of the people and in order to break down the barriers which divide the German nation.

"Alone we can do nothing, but together we shall succeed so long as we are united in our aims and in our common task of refusing to be led along a dangerous path, and seeking new roads into a better future."

Nikolaus Koch's speech was the main event of the meeting.

International children's painting competition

THE Peace Committee of Szombathely, Hungary, is organising an international competition for children from 6 to 16 or 18, for the best drawings and paintings on the subject of "Friendship and Peace."

Contributions have already been received from Italy, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Belgium. The successful entries will be shown in an exhibition in Hungary, and the names of the winners will be published in the Hungarian national paper.

The organisers have promised to send a number of the drawings and paintings from other countries to England, for exhibition here.

Entries from this country should be sent to the British Esperanto Peace Committee, 10 Woronzow Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8, to arrive not later than April 30.

REARMAMENT AND EDUCATION

IN the course of the debate on Education in the House of Commons on Tuesday of last week I made the following observation:

"I cannot help being persuaded that a Government which contemplates spending £5,200 million on re-armament cannot morally call a halt to expenditure in education on the grounds of inability to pay. I cannot see the sense of deciding to spend £5,200 million on re-armament and, at the same time and in the same breath, stating that there must be economy in this vital social service in our life. Education is an investment. We cannot spend too much on it. I contend that the interest on it will provide the happiness and enjoyment of future generations. It is one of the means of repairing and safeguarding our battered civilisation."

No-one reading that statement could possibly know what are my personal views on the subject of re-armament.

Indeed, had the words emanated from the Secretary of State for War himself I would fail to see how anyone could charge him with being inconsistent in holding his post. It is obviously nothing but plain common sense.

But then, I must have been too innocent when I always assumed that the amount of money expended by a person was a criterion of that person's financial status. Or it may be, of course, that what applies in domestic affairs would not be true in national affairs.

Mr. Hollis was not deceived

I was followed by Mr. Christopher Hollis, Conservative MP for Devizes. However innocent I had appeared to be in failing to connect re-armament with education and realising how one would adversely affect the other, Mr. Hollis had not been deceived in any way.

I should like to quote him at some length making the italics my own.

"I am grateful to the hon. Member for Merioneth for his speech because he made clear what is the real issue behind this, which I think we all knew, and behind a very large number of other kindred topics—and that is, 'Are you in favour of the full re-armament programme or are you against it?'

"If one is against the full re-armament programme—and the hon. Member apparently is, doubtless with all sincerity—then I agree that it is easy to say, 'If you are not to spend all these thousands of millions on armaments, it is quite unnecessary to have these restrictions on

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, is in Moscow, where he is attending the World Economic Conference. He will continue his weekly article on his return.

the education service, on the Health Service and all the other services—restrictions which we all regret.'

"On the other hand, if we say, as the right hon. Member for South Shields says, and as we say, that, detestable as it is, we think it necessary to carry through the full re-armament programme, then, of course, our approach to the problem must be an entirely different and much more difficult one."

"Before such a fundamental difference, it is a waste of time to talk to anybody about this problem unless they first define on which side of the fence they stand on this important topic."

"From the hon. Member's point of view about re-armament—and if we were discussing it I should cross swords with him—it is perfectly easy for him to denounce those economies, but if we do not feel able to accept his point of view, then it is quite obvious that our field of criticism is necessarily a very much more limited one."

"Obviously, it is nonsense to say, 'I am in favour of full re-armament and also of spending everything we possibly can think of on education and everything we can think of on the Health Service.' If we think it is necessary to have full re-armament, then obviously the amount of money we have to spend on other desirable things is very limited indeed."

AFRICA

(Continued from page one)

In New York, "Americans for South African Resistance" are proceeding with plans for the demonstration reported in Peace News last week although the South African Consul General has refused their request for an interview on April 6.

The schedule for the New York demonstration is: Mass Meeting at Abyssinian Baptist Church, West 138th Street followed by a Motorcade down Fifth Avenue terminating in a demonstration in front of the South African Consulate Office in Madison Avenue.

Cable address is "Satyagraha"

Yusuf Cachalia, Secretary of the Joint Planning Council for the South African Civil Disobedience Campaign, reports that the Campaign headquarters in Johannesburg have been receiving cables and letters of encouragement from sympathetic organisations in Asia, Europe and America. The cable address of the Council is "Satyagraha, PO Box 2948, Johannesburg, S. Africa."

"Satyagraha" means non-violent resistance or soul force and was first used by Mahatma Gandhi.

Z-Tribunal

OBJECTORS MET IN LIBRARY

Both wanted to read Peace News

them in any order. I had to serve the British first and the Germans later."

Buckley said he had felt that by going into the medical corps he was helping men to do a job that he would not do himself.

"I think back on the years that I spent in the army and feel that I was helping men cause suffering when I was trying to help them."

Mr. Tudor Davies pointed out that a member of the forces could at any time become a conscientious objector, and appear before a tribunal. "I did not know that," said Buckley. "I think it ought to be known."

Both men were recommended for registration as COs.

Protecting his heritage

Jack W. A. Fulton, of Wembley, an engineering inspector with London Transport, said in his statement, "Married just after the war, I am now blessed with three bonny children, but I often with aching heart wonder what the future holds for them."

"I treat with contempt any suggestion that my 'contribution' by way of donning a military uniform would secure their future."

"That has been the theme song and excuse for the two bloodiest wars in history."

He had been led to join up in the last war, said Fulton, by the call to "protect his heritage." But he was taught to forget his 20th century civilisation and scream like a savage as he plunged his bayonet into the effigies of men.

He believed that the stronghold of peace lay in the family and home, and by the same token, in the family of nations.

Asked by Mr. Tudor Davies what he considered to be the alternative to war, Fulton replied, "Goodwill. It is the answer in industry, and it must work in international affairs as well. The only way is to have a conscience and stick to it."

In answer to further questions, Fulton said that if somebody threatened him he would not slap him, but would speak peacefully to him. If war came, however, he could not stand by and allow anyone to be attacked.

The chairman said that this was not the position of a conscientious objector, and he

Still no free speech in Hornsey

A FRESH request by the North London Peace Centre (an independent pacifist organisation with headquarters at Peace News Offices) for permission to hold a public meeting at Hornsey Town Hall was turned down by the Conservative Borough Council on March 18, despite a motion by 11 Conservative and Labour councillors to refer the decision back.

Earlier the same evening, the council had refused to receive a deputation from the Committee for Freedom of Speech in Hornsey, who wanted to make representations on the Council's refusal to let the Town Hall to a number of local organisations. The deputation included three Labour MPs who live in the borough, and a Baptist minister.

Attack on PPU

In the course of the discussion on the Peace Centre application, Councillor R. Sutton (Cons.) said that among the Centre's members were Methodists and Quakers. From trying to keep out the Communists, the council had reached the stage of refusing the town hall to worthy religious groups meeting to discuss peace.

Ald. M. W. Burns (Cons.) described the Peace Pledge Union, which he appeared to identify with the Peace Centre, as having been traitors in 1939. "They came under suspicion then and were working in the nation as a fifth column," he declared.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, has written to Alderman Burns, asking him either to substantiate his statement about the Union or withdraw it.

The gentleman is confused! STRANGE IDEAS ABOUT PACIFISM

Lord Ponsonby and Sir Stafford Cripps were inclined to applaud Lansbury's foolish peregrinations in pursuit of peace which, along with other like endeavours, served to convince Hitler and Mussolini that the British would never fight, and so make war certain. Pacifism indeed is a largely bourgeois aberration. —Malcolm Muggeridge, Daily Telegraph, March 27, 1952

And they cried all at once saying, Away with this man and release unto us Barabbas (who . . . for murder was cast into prison) . . . and he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison . . . but he delivered Jesus to their will. —St. Luke, XXIII. 18.19.25.

IT is curious how the myth that a tiny handful of pacifists in this country caused Hitler to believe he could attack with impunity, continues to prevail against the real facts.

That this argument is frequently based upon an entirely false idea of the meaning of pacifism has been pointed out again and again, and yet it is constantly repeated; indeed, it seems to be implied by Mr. Muggeridge that Neville Chamberlain's visits to Hitler were on a par with Lansbury's visits to the leaders of nations all over Europe.

But the reality is entirely different from this myth. Lansbury went with the open hands of friendship, and a sincere desire to find a way whereby moderation and mediation might prevail; he went as an individual unsupported by the British Government, or for that matter by his own party. Neville Chamberlain went to Hitler only, backed by his Government and supported by their arms programme.

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If it is true that Hitler was induced to make war because he thought Britain would never fight his information could scarcely have been based upon the sayings of a small group of pacifists numbering only a few thousands, and whose influence upon the Government was, after Lansbury's return, only too obviously quite ineffective.

Herr Ribbentrop, the German Ambassador may have been genuinely convinced, but that conviction could not possibly have come through any knowledge he had of pacifism in this country, but more because of his knowledge of the circle of people closest to him, who, in all probability would have preferred to fight alongside Hitler against the Soviet Union.

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There can be no doubt that in the years just before the war there were many influential people who believed that Hitler's attack would be towards the East, and if this had been so, they would have wished to follow either a course of masterly non-intervention, in the hope that Germany and Russia would fight it out and both be destroyed, or of an alliance with Hitler's Germany against Stalin's Russia. "Europe's bulwark against Communism" was a not uncommon appellation for Hitlerism in this country, and doubtless Hitler knew that.

If this is what Ribbentrop whispered in his Fuhrer's ear he was no doubt encouraged to believe it by the fact that British armament factories supplied him with weapons, and the British Government supplied him with raw materials right up to November, 1939.

It is more than possible that the explanation of the "phony" war is as simple as that; he really did believe that Great Britain would eventually come in on his side; but since the basis of pacifism is total renunciation of the war method, he could hardly have got that impression from pacifist pronouncements.

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Mr. Muggeridge, in his article, condemns the credulity of those who would trust in Stalin, but he is surely a trifle credulous himself, if he really believes that a tiny handful of pacifists could cause a world war. If pacifists had been listened to in 1918 there would have been no Hitler, for he and his regime were the vile out-crop of a British victory in war, not of British pacifism.

However, no doubt Mr. Muggeridge, had he lived in Palestine 2,000 years ago, would have described Christianity as "largely a bourgeois aberration," which in fact, the majority in Palestine at that time believed it to be; perhaps he too would have shouted for the release of a murderer instead of the man who had preached the terrifying doctrine of mediation rather than massacre, healing rather than killing, and love rather than hate.

In those days such teaching was conceived to be madness, and today Lansbury's gallant attempt to follow it is designated as an aberration; but to some ordinary citizens, not necessarily all pacifists, the faith that is put in atom bombs and napalm as a means of settling anything other than the destruction of the human race, seems not so much an aberration as sheer lunacy.

It is the belief in war that is insane. Its renunciation is the only sanity.

SYBIL MORRISON

No. 824

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PPU PACIFIST RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP SERVICE

3 p.m. Sunday April 6

Denison House, 295 Vauxhall Bridge Rd. near Victoria Station

Conducted by Arthur Peacock

Discourse by Reginald Sorensen MP

Representatives of many faiths taking part

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. Peace News Ltd. Printed by The W. F. Cliffo Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.